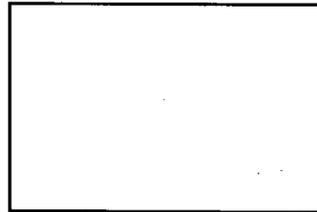


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Saturday 28 October 1978

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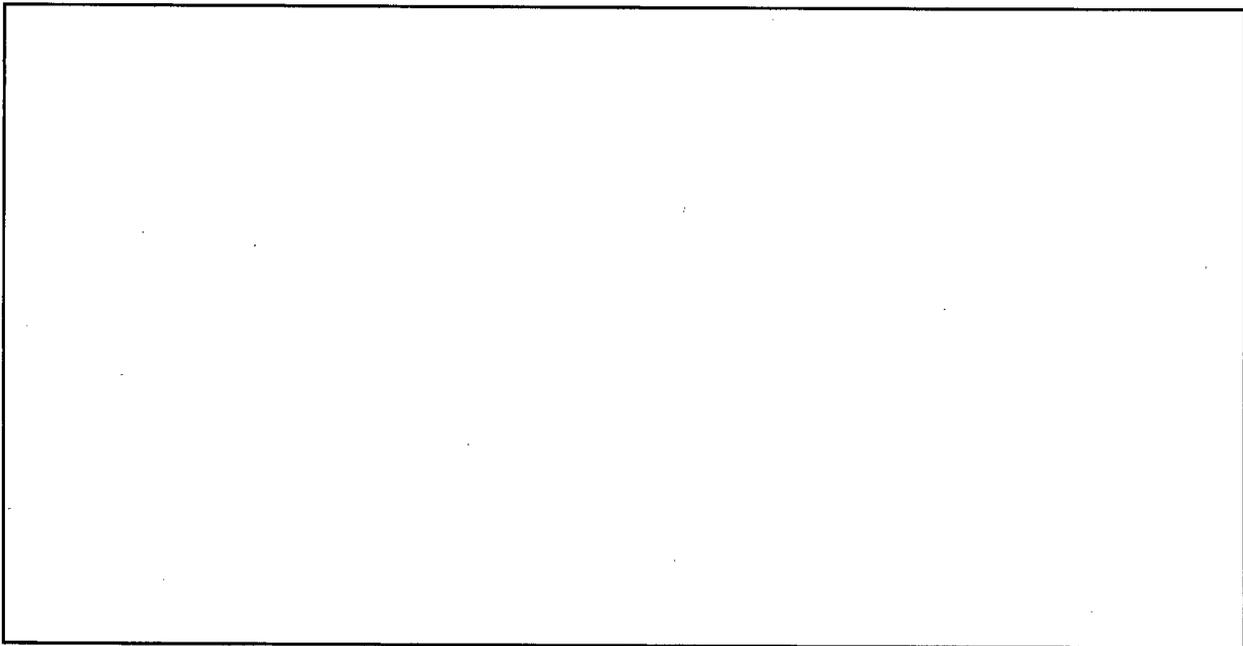


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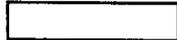
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ARAB STATES: Summit Meeting

 Developments in the Middle East during the past few days probably have lessened the likelihood of a major quarrel erupting between Arab hardliners and moderates when they meet in Baghdad next week to talk about the Camp David accords. The successful conclusion of reconciliation talks between Iraq and Syria this week, Israel's decision to "thicken" West Bank settlements, and speculation about a move of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and the Office of the Prime Minister to East Jerusalem have bolstered the hand of the hardliners and made it harder for Saudi Arabia and other moderates to blunt anti-Egyptian measures. The moderate tone of the communique issued following the Iraqi-Syrian talks suggests, however, that an effort will be made at Baghdad to come up with proposals acceptable to all the conferees.

 A preparatory meeting of foreign ministers will begin on Monday to plan the agenda for the heads-of-state summit scheduled for 2 November. The 22 members of the Arab League, with the exception of Egypt, will be represented at Baghdad.

 The summit will probably call for reaffirmation of the 1974 Rabat resolution recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and for increased moral and financial support to Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

[ ] It could also reiterate support for previous Arab League resolutions that condemn any Arab state that signs a separate peace treaty with Israel and result in new demands for imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions. We suspect that the hardliners will press for such condemnations and sanctions as a minimal plank and that they will also urge that Arab League headquarters be moved from Cairo.

[ ] The hardliners may also call for the creation of a joint Syrian-Iraqi-Jordanian-PLO command to reestablish the Eastern Front against Israel. While such a move would probably be little more than a cosmetic gesture, it would make it more difficult for Jordan to join the peace negotiations. It is not clear what position the Arab leaders will take on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the reconvening of a Geneva peace conference.

[ ] The moderate states seem to have given up on their attempts to have Egypt at the meeting and to delay the convening of the Arab heads of state. The moderates appear to have no strategy for the conferences. They will try to minimize attacks on Egypt and limit any resolutions to bland formulations on the need for unity.

[ ] Egypt has ignored the Baghdad summit because President Sadat is angered by the lack of public support from Saudi Arabia and Jordan and the strong condemnations from Syria and Arab radicals. Sadat has done very little to help the Arab moderates develop a position from which they can stave off measures that will further divide Arab ranks and impede efforts at broadening peace negotiations. Sadat has been in touch with Saudi leaders and Sudanese President Numayri, but we have no evidence that the contacts have produced a coordinated strategy. Sadat has studiously ignored Jordan's King Hussein, and the relationship between the two leaders is now deeply troubled.

[ ] Sadat's disdainful attitude toward the summit conveys an unrealistic notion that Egypt is invulnerable to Arab criticism. We suspect that at another level Sadat is trying to hide the fact that he has virtually no ability to influence the course of the summit and is deeply concerned that the moderate Arabs will not have the courage to stand up to the more cohesive bloc headed by Syria and Iraq.